

Transformations and Re-domestications of Karampuang Vernacular Architecture from *lekeang*, *rumah besar* to *bola* Architecture, Indonesia

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Abstract

Rumah besar is a pair of ancestral houses which are the architectural landmarks in Karampuang hamlet in Sinjai Regency, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. They used to be residential-community houses where the inhabitants of hamlets traditionally lived together. Presently, people live in a separated neighborhood – bola neighborhood - not far from the rumah besar precinct. Today, the rumah besar turn out to be the office of the traditional leaders, whereon every night they visit the houses. This paper discusses the transformations of Karampuang’s dwelling culture that led to the segmentation of rumah besar and a bola neighborhood by using the framework of re-domestication. This paper is written based on research conducted using a qualitative-exploratory approach, through field research in 2018 for one month, during which we lived with the people, involving in harvesting festivals and taking documentation. The paper concludes that the present architecture of the Karampuang has been the result of continuous transformations elaborated in three processes of re-domestication. The emergence of lekeang, rumah besar, and bola architecture results from the transformations of domesticity, such as the introduction of paddy farming, modernization, and, recently, global tourism.

Keywords: *rumah besar*, *bola*, domesticity, domestic space, domus, Ade’ Eppa.

Introduction

Transformation is one of the fundamental characteristics of vernacular architecture. It reflects the dynamics of social practices, values, and the mindset behind its production (Vellinga, Oliver, and Bronner in Vellinga, 2006; Alsayyad, 1995). The concept of transformation varies in scales and effectiveness – some appear to be shifts of expressions, while others are fundamental. However, it may seem natural that at any scale, transformation is not always a comfortable term; for what reason, preservations, authenticity, cultural representation, and identity are still important terms to defy the term “transformation.” However, here we would argue that negative associations—such as loss of identity, cultural destruction, and even modernization—follow transformations caused by the inability to relate it to the nature of stability and equilibrium of dwelling and constructing matters in vernacular architecture at any present moments.

What is lacking is perhaps how to infer a meaningful notion of transformation for a steady notion of dwelling. An architecture may transform, but it may not necessarily change the entirety of the dwelling—the notion of ‘homeness’. Some transformations demonstrate abrupt changes, followed by temporary chaos and loss of order, but lead to the reinvention of a new dwelling equilibrium. On the contrary, the absence of dwelling idea made some architecture, which may be well preserved, lost its domestic meaning. Hence, we suggest re-domestication could conceptualize transformation as an act of reforming the notion of dwelling. In this perspective, vernacular architecture is always in the state of transformation – moderate to extreme, to renew its livelihood and existence in a different context. Many traditions in vernacular architecture had undergone radical changes for renewing their life: from cave architecture to the architecture of horticultural society, agriculture, and modernization. For this paper, we would discuss the transformation in the indigenous architecture of the *Karampuang* community of the *Bugis* ethnic group.

The Karampuang community lives in the Karampuang Hamlet, administratively located in Tompubolo Village, Bulupoddo District, Sinjai Regency, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia (Fig. 1). It is at an altitude of 280-400 m above sea level in the hilly terrain with small rivers and plenty of water springs around. According to Muhannis and Manda, the Karampuang’s customary land reaches out to the entire Tompubolo Village and beyond, up to the West bank of Sinjai Beach. Unfortunately, the administration system of the village area makes the customary area allotted for national conservation and limited only within its administrative boundary.



Fig. 1: Approximate Location of the Karampuang Hamlet

Source: Thematic map of Indonesia-2015

The Karampuang community acknowledges a narrative of architectural evolution from *lekeang* (ancient form of residential community house with an umbrella structure and a central pole) to *lao pole* (ancestral house with a rectangular plan). In between them, there is an intermediary structure of a three-legged house with a central pole. The rectangular ancestral house is now popularly known as *rumah besar* (Fig. 2). This description exists in a chronicle of the origin of the Karampuang community, written in a traditional text referred to as *Lontara Karampuang* (Muhannis, 2013). Contemporary vernacular architecture in Karampuang is *bola*, meaning “house.” This paper discusses the three types of architecture as transformations of the dwelling culture and residential architecture, using a re-domestication framework.

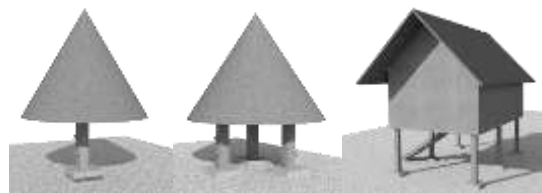


Fig. 2: Schematic illustration of *lekeang* evolutions into *rumah besar*, according to *Lontara Karampuang* described by Mr. Muhannis

Source: P3MI-2018

Theoretical framework

Re-domestication is rooted in the Latin word - *domus* (house). In a physical sense, *domus* is a house for a “body” – content or life in the natural sense. Adapting from Kaiser et al. (2015), domestication is an evolutionary process that substantially reshapes the behavioral and biological (social, emotional, cognitive, hormonal) profiles. Moreover, re-domestication discusses how the behavioral profile and biology of the *domus* inhabitants move from one to another state of formation. We argue that re-domestication can refine the concept of transformation in vernacular architecture, considering the act of architectural design is an ingenious attempt to frame the “body” in a “*domus*.” Domestication is achieved when the conformity of “*domus*” and “body” is attained, indicated by the sense of homeliness. Elaborating Giuliana Bruno (in Walsh, 2008), we suggest re-domestication in the transformation of vernacular architecture as a situation of constant redrafting of sites, where domesticity, domestic space, and *domus* exist as the analytical tools.

Re-domestication is the creation of a new equilibrium of *domus*, the domestic space, and domesticity. Domesticity describes the body’s performative aspects in space that lead to supra-individual idealization such as residents, tenants, parents, or children; or ethnicity to nationality. Domestic space is a multi-dimensional mental domain, composed of a vocabulary of architectural elements, through series of processes such as the formation of domestic existential perceptions, which have implications for the sense of protection, calm, rest, renewal, recovery, and happiness (Martella, 2018). Those implications indicate attainment of a house to become a home. In this context, house or *domus* are the *loci* of domesticity, where the manifestation of ideology (concept), practice (ritual/habit), and material (object) of domestication are realized (Chee et al., 2013). House is a physical form of domestic space in a location. It is empathetic, within which all forms of consciousness and subjectivity are formed (Tuan in Lane, 2007). Throughout history, the concept of *domus* is re-read because domesticity and domestic space are always reforming and renewed-the equilibrium of *domus*, domestic space, and domesticity.

Domestication framework is relevant for discussion vernacular architecture to decode a specific form of “cultural body” (in the form of family, community, or ethnic) into the concept of domesticity, domestic space, and *domus*. We consider domestication able to contribute analytical tools to examine how a dwelling culture articulates a certain equilibrium of domesticity and how its architectural manifestations could be explained using the concept of domestic space and *domus*. Hence, transformations in vernacular architecture imply changes in the equilibrium state of domesticity.

In the frame of re-domestication, vernacular architecture is, therefore, a process of regaining new stability and reforming new dwelling culture due to the relational changes of domesticity and domestic sphere, particularly after events that cause fundamental changes. The formal emergence of *lekeang* and its respective transformations to *lao pole* and *bola* are perceived as a result of the re-domestication.

Research Methodology

This paper is based on field research conducted in 2018 for one month, during which we lived with the Karampuang community in their hamlet. The exploration aims to describe and interpret 1) the nature of transformation in the architectural phenomenon of *lao pole*, *rumah besar*, and *bola* architecture in *bola*-neighborhood, and 2) to elaborate the transformations using a re-domestication framework. The data is derived from the people’s experiences with their houses and hamlet, the relevant dwelling organization, and the nature of transformations. The investigation was obtained through 1) interviews with eight ladies, each representing a household to understand the social organization and the meaning of the house, the role of family members - and how they are represented in architectural form and space; 2) interviews with the traditional leaders and dignitaries of the hamlet to understand how the

organization of their settlement, navigate the environment and how the concept of domestic units are linked to it; and 3) the documentation of landscape and architecture. Then, we inferred facts about the dwelling culture, settlement, and architecture of the Karampuang community from those data.

The study was conducted using a qualitative-exploratory approach with data collection through field surveys and participation in the main harvesting festival, *Mappogau Sihanua*. By considering the blending attitude of the built environment, social-cultural setting, and the natural surrounding, the fact-gathering method have to allow comprehensive interpretation of architecture, settlement, and the natural environment as a holistic entity. Many aspects are explored in such a way that enables us to interpret the transformational aspects of every fact and comparative examinations with some other relevant cases of vernacular architecture to help the interpretation process. Further, the facts are decoded using the concept of domesticity, domestic space, and '*domus*,' through which a re-domestication narrative of the vernacular architecture of the Karampuang people is established.

We could not deny that many interpretations were still in a hypothetical state, especially those related to the emergence of *lekeang* architecture and situations of the pre-Islam period, primarily due to the limited time of data gathering. Therefore, we are aware that the inferences are narrative, and some are open for further reexaminations and revisions.

Lekeang, rumah besar and bola architecture

Karampuang Hamlet is well-known for its two ancestral house architecture, *rumah besar* (Malay, lang.) or *lao pole* (Konjo, lang.) (Wikantasari, 2013). One of them belongs to the highest leader of the traditional community, *amatoa – Rumah Besar To Matoa*, and the other belongs to the *To Matoa* accompanying official, *gella – Rumah Besar Puang Gella* (Fig. 3). For the Karampuang, *rumah besar* is an ancestral, ritual, and community house.



Fig. 3. *Rumah Besar To Matoa* (left) and *Rumah Besar Puang Gella* (right)
Source: P3MI-2018

Rumah besar architecture is characterized by a building with buffalo-horn-like roof finials and an overwhelming saddle roof standing on an array of piles with peculiar linear vertical projections. *Rumah besar* contains the female embodiment, referring to the local mythical ancestress of *Nene' Makkunrai Indo*, associated with To Manurung – the mythical ancestor of mainstream Bugis culture as inscribed in their ancient text, *I La Galigo*. The entrance of the house comes from underneath, walking up the stair into the kitchen. The door symbolizes “the vagina,” and the kitchen, the “woman’s breast.” The center of the house is the central column or *possu' bola*, on which a symbolic ornament is called *poto' nabi* exists. We could confirm no fixed meaning yet, but it pictures uninterrupted lines in four corner swirls to depict continuity (Fig. 4). The sacred inner rooms are situated on the rear of the house, in front of *possu' bola*, and are reserved for the hamlet leadership (*Ade' Eppa*). *Rumah besar* is a raised structure standing on arrays of wooden columns that bear Islam symbolization. The front part of the house where guests are received is called *anjung*. Muhannis predicted that Muslim visitors introduced the use of raised floor and the arrangement of columns-in-array.

Coincidentally the term ‘*anjung*’ is a familiar term among the Malays that mostly Muslims. Except for the *Ade’ Eppa*’s leaders’ rooms of *guru*, *amatoa*, and *sanro*, *rumah besar* is open to all Karampuang inhabitants, including migrant relatives.

The Karampuang customary law is called *Ade’ Eppa*, which means “the four laws” – *Ade’* (law), *Eppa* (four). Philosophically, *Ade’ Eppa* symbolizes characters of four natural elements—fire, earth, wind, and water—which have to be kept in balance. *Ade’ Eppa* is represented symbolically in the form of rhombus quadrangle cosmography, representing the balance of four powers to undertake government. It resonates with the governance characters of the Bugis culture, *Sulappa Eppa*, which is believed and obligated to balance the *ale kawa* or the human world (Artiningrum et al., 2019). In Karampuang, *Ade’ Eppa* consists of *Amatoa* (highest leader), *Gella* (accompanying leader), *Sanro* (executive of health and welfare affair), and *guru* (executive of ritual art and spiritual affair). Their existence is reflected in the arrangement of accommodation in *rumah besar*. *Amatoa*, *Sanro*, and *Guru* have rooms in *Rumah Besar To Matoa*, while *gella* has a room in smaller *rumah besar*, *Rumah Besar Puang Gella*.

Based on Muhannis’ readings of *Lontara Karampuang*, *rumah besar* had undergone at least three phases of evolutions (Fig. 2). The initial form of *rumah besar* is called *lekeang*, a conical structure resting on a central pole and forming an umbrella structure. The next evolution is a three-legged house, and the final form is a square plan house standing on stilts called *lao pole*. According to Muhannis (2013), the introduction of Islam around the 17th century had things to do with the last transformation. In this final transformation, the feminine embodiment contained in the *lao pole* building turned into a symbolic expression in both *rumah besar To Matoa* and *Puang Gella*. Their building elements are metaphorically described as if female body organs and accessories.



Fig. 4: *Poto’ nabi* ornament on the *possi’ bola* of *rumah besar* and the plan of *Rumah Besar To Matoa*.
Source: P3MI-2018

In Karampuang Hamlet, there is also a different building typology named *bola* (Fig. 5) – the residential architecture for a commoner, designed as a raised box structure built standing on an array of columns, characterized with an extended veranda (*lego-lego*). *Lego-lego* is a balcony construction attached to the *bola*. Functionally, it is a place to receive guests or other kin-members. Further explorations showed that *lego-lego* has a fundamental role in keeping *rumah besar* and *bola* related. The egalitarian nature of Karampuang people is reflected in the habit of *Ade’ Eppa* leaders visiting the community and casually being relieved in *lego-lego*.

Like *rumah besar*, the center of *bola* is *possi’ bola*. Entry comes from a ladder flanked by the main box structure of the house and the *lego-lego* or balcony structure. The lower part of the building is a common space and workplace. They have a peculiar bent or lightly curved stilts design indicating that the structural system is not meant purely to distribute the structural load. The kitchen generally appears as a considerable space, where the owner casually receives close kin and hamlet members. An informal prohibition of replicating *rumah besar* style for

personal residences keeps the *rumah besar* as the architectural identity and representation of virtue of To Manurung. Several *bola* creates a residential quarter we tentatively identified as *bola-neighborhood*.

Although they differ in roles and principles, *rumah besar* and *bola* embody common architectural order. Both houses observe an *axis mundi* represented by a central pole, called the *possi' bola*. Rituals and living space activities take place around this central pole. Despite the rectangular plan, the rituals keep the schemata of circum-spherical formations around *possi' bola*, which is an accidental remind of the schemata of *lekeang*. On the top of *possi' bola* in *rumah besar* and *bola*, there is a granary (*rekeang*) inside the roof. It should be noted that before agricultural products are stored here, they are collected and consecrated in *rumah besar* and redistributed to each *bola*. Hence, the Karampuang habitation is also considered a granary network (Estika et al., 2020). The *rekeang* also functioned as storage for ancestress's relics—*Possi' bola*, *rekeang*, and kitchen form a comprehensive core of dwelling in the Karampuang house.



Fig. 5: *Bola* (left) and its architecture drawing (right).

Source: P3MI-2018

Like most ethnic Bugis in South Sulawesi, the Karampuang community believes in the cosmic tripartite vertical order (Muhannis, 2013; Wikantasari et al. 2013). The vertical tripartite cosmological order at *rumah besar* and *bola* (Fig. 6) assumed a house as a microcosmos divided into three levels of the world, as follows: 1) *boting langi* (the upper world and the place of Gods/*Patoto'E*) equals of *rekeang*; 2) *ale kawa* (the middle world where human life) equals of domestic space (*ale bola*), and 3) *pratiwi* (the underworld) equals of space beneath the floor that function as social-communal space.

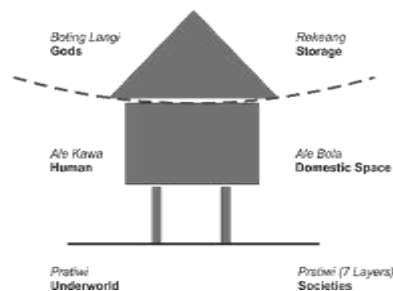


Fig. 6: Tripartite cosmological order of the house

Source: P3MI-2018

Analysis: the evolvement of Karampuang Settlement

Examining the synchronic and diachronic facts, we interpreted that the architecture of *rumah besar* and the evolvement of *bola* architectures embodied the evolvement narrative of the Karampuang's world. According to *Lontara Karampuang*, in the beginning, there was only an ocean. Then the land emerged from it, and To Manurung descended to the land. The charm

of To Manurung was so commanding that she was called “the hideous one”—*Karampulu’E*—from which the term “Karampuang” came. To Manurung was believed to descend on Lappa Hill, where the Karampuang community is currently conducting ancient rituals. This legend suggests a strong oceanic nature in the geomorphology of the place. In the mainstream classical Bugis chronicle, *I La Galigo*, the depiction of To Manurung bears the character of *Sangiangserri* (the Bugis version of Rice Goddess) traveling with a cat—“*Meong Palo Karellae*.” The cat had the particular task of guiding farmers on how to groom rice.

Femininity is strong in Karampuang. Customary land is considered female and is called “*paratiwi*.” Agricultural land is inherited through the mother’s line and is called “*arajang*” (grand heritage). Its legal ownership is under the custodian of maternal lineages, but the responsibility is on the community. Paddy farming is indeed at the heart of Karampuang culture, which took root from earlier forest ecology. Presently, they practice modern rice farming but maintain traces of ancient rice specimens called *padi gunung* (mountain rice), which is kept but not cultivated. Their rituals keep strong traces of traditional forest to horticulture living. Ancient pre-historic artifacts are also concentrated in the Gunung area or the hill where the major traditional festivals are conducted, such as the harvesting ritual of *Mappogau Sihanua*. We conjecture that the Karampuang people lived around the present Gunung Area, where rituals are conducted, and possibly *lekeang* was constructed during this early period.

Despite its seclusion, the Karampuang community seems to respond to the dynamics of its surrounding. Indication of Sanskritic terms in their language implies the familiarity towards Indic nomenclature, possibly introduced through the encounters with the royal culture of Bugis court with the *I La Galigo* text, or to some extent, the interactions with the Javanese culture. Their narrative of origin acknowledges the word “Manjapai,” which is believed to refer to Majapahit from the Java Island—a major kingdom known by its wide encompassing transoceanic network. The term “Sangiangseri” in *I La Galigo* refers to Dewi Sri or the rice goddess in the Indic nomenclature. Local people also believe that the term “Karampuang” is derived from a combination of two titles of two Bugis sovereigns, Bone—*karaeng* and the Bugis Makassar – *puang*, thus became “Karampuang.” Political tension between Bugis Bone and Bugis Gowa might have been medium, amid Karampuang cultures developed and assimilated with Islam. We consider Bone Bay’s cosmopolitan nature around the 15th-18th century AD in South Sulawesi pulled Karampuang into its circle of interactions. We conjecture that the present location of *rumah besar* was located on the lower ground of the earlier *lekeang*.

Being a place and people in a remote area in the Bulusaraung mountainous terrain, Karampuang must have been a hidden paradise that slowly develops. They started encountering major transformations only in the early 20th century. It was presumed to be a brief, chaotic moment when the Karampuang community faced insecurity problems for the first time. During the insecurity period after the Indonesian Independence, the Karampuang was often suspected of hiding communist militia, culminating in the burning of *rumah besar* in 1967 by the national army. Afterward, people built their temporary shelter in *bola* type around the ruins of *rumah besar*.

Soon the *rumah besar* were rebuilt, and *bola* was continuously built, marking the emergence of modern lifestyles. In the 1980s, roads were constructed. People associate this road construction with a prophetic phrase addressed in Lontara Karampuang about the arrival of a mystical black snake that coiled around the mountain and brought about a big change. Now, people associate the black snake with asphalt roads and highways. Since then, people started to build their residences facing road infrastructure, and the *bola* neighborhood started to form itself in the lower ground than the *rumah besar* location, accommodating the former *rumah besar* inhabitants. The increasing external interactions introduced the idea of exogamous to the local endogamous one. Soon, *rumah besar* was left and became the exclusive office of *Ade’ Eppa*.

Building houses adjacent to the main road transforms the traditional sunrise-sunset orientation of the house to road orientation. The government agrarian system limits access to natural sources such as rattan. It explains the growing popular uses of modern construction materials. Further, Karampuang was increasingly exposed to modern infrastructure and facilities. Electricity and modern plumbing infrastructure were introduced in 2015. *Rumah batu* (stone house or brick house) is perhaps the most recent form of *domus* that develops outside the hamlet (Fig. 7).

Despite the transformation, *rumah besar* is still important for the inhabitants. Some families keep their sacred belongings in the *rumah besar*. The intensifying emergence of *bola* necessitated *Ade' Eppa* leaders to issue a regulation prohibiting commoners from building *bola* with the *rumah besar* architectural style. Since then, *rumah besar* was perceived as the authentic Karampuang architecture. In 2018, the hamlet acquired a “Desa Adat” status or traditional village from the central government—generally programmed as a cultural tourism destination. A new assembly hall (*baruga*) for guest reception and homestay was established.



Fig. 7: *Rumah batu* as a modern *bola*.
Source: P3MI-2018

Discussion: reading the settlement architecture of Karampuang Hamlet

Behind its crude manifestation, Karampuang Hamlet is an evolving entity, containing transformational layers of stories- so far - identified in three deduced traces of settlement, namely: 1) “Gunung Area,” where the ritual center is situated on Lappa Hill; 2) the area of *rumah besar* ancestral house and the surrounding place and site where the community assembles and being represented; and 3) *bola* neighborhood (residential quarter). These three areas met in T-junctions where a sacred stone - “Batu Gong”- was situated and major rituals are commenced. We found that the set of these three traceable sectors establish the holistic idea of traditional habitation, addressed as “Dusun Adat Karampuang.” Officially now they are marked by a hamlet gate. Outside the gate, within the administrative hamlet area, people build modern houses – mostly in *bola* typology. The three sectors plus the area beyond are to be elaborated afterward and diagrammatically described in Fig.8.

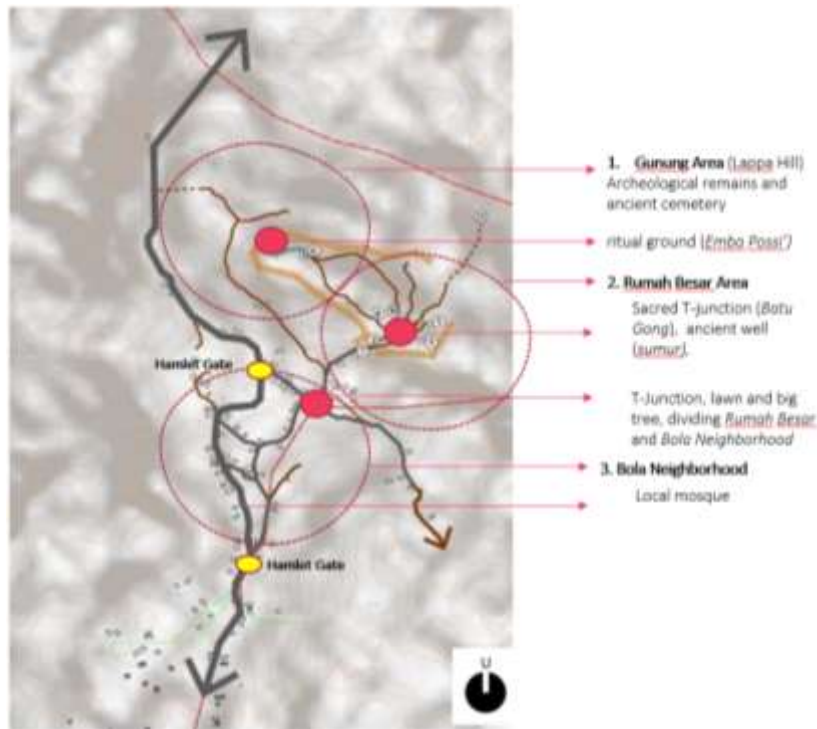


Fig. 8: Projection map of Karampuang Hamlet
Source: P3MI-2018

First, Lappa Hill in the Gunung Area, where the religious ceremony of *Mappogau Sihanua* is conducted and centered in a stone mound called *emba possi*. During the important festivals, the sketchy spatiality of the landscape is decorated and indicates certain semantic formations, which possibly lead to a particular but common idea of the domestic space of the Karampuang people. At a glance, Batu Gong is an ordinary stone junction, but during festivals, its T-junction formation becomes obvious to coordinate the three sectors. Metaphorically, it is believed that when *sanro* beats the Batu Gong, all Karampuang people from all around the world will gather. Batu Gong seems to form an ancient threshold into “a space of memories” of the Karampuang’s feminine origin. We suspect the myriad organic landscape and archaic artifacts around it are traces of ancient hamlets, centered in *emba possi* – the original *axis mundi*. T-junctions, in general, marks the transitional spaces in many places in areas around the Karampuang settlements. They typically connect the older and more recent settlements, higher to lower locations (Fig.9).



Fig. 9: Batu Gong, and T-junctions Monuments
Source: P3MI-2018

The second is the *rumah besar* area on the foothill of Lappa Hill. *Rumah Besar To Matoa* orients toward the sunset and is considered a symbol of ancestry, immortality, and the after-life world. *Rumah Besar Puang Gella* faces East towards the rising sun (Fig. 10), representing life and the future. The duality of the two *rumah besar* implies the duality of earth

and sky, the goddess and the people. At least up until the 1950s, people of the hamlet stayed in either one of these houses. *Rumah Besar To Matoa* is now the office of the *Ade' Eppa* and a place to receive guests.

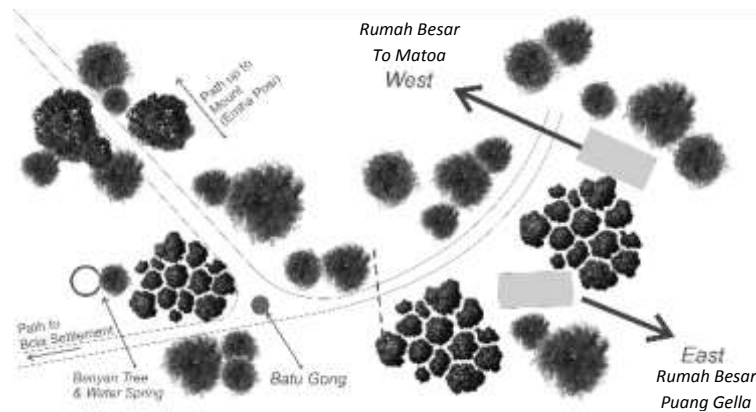


Fig. 10: *Rumah besar* area - Orientation of *Rumah Besar To Matoa* (West) and *Rumah Besar Puang Gella* (East)
Source: P3MI-2018

The third is the residential quarters, the *bola* neighborhood (Fig.9). They are composed of rows of *bola* standing along the hamlet streets. Every domestic unit is centered on the main lineage group, called *siajina*, that occupies a *bola*. Although without deliberate arrangement, *bola* form a grouping that follows their affiliation to the *rumah besar*. The Karampuang community practice a bilateral kinship with matrilineal inheritance. They acknowledge a kinship grouping based on cousin-groupings (*jiji*) associated with one of *Ade' Eppa* leaders (*amatoa*, *gella*, *sanro*, or *guru*). These four *jiji* kin-cousin-groupings are further regrouped in two major groupings, each affiliated to certain *rumah besar*. The *Rumah Besar To Matoa* includes the office of *sanro* and *guru*, including their *jiji*. *Rumah Besar Penggella* house all inhabitants under the *gella* kin-members and their *jiji*. Therefore, each domestic unit and households keep their affiliation with one among the four *jiji* and one of the *rumah besar*. With the *jiji* concept, houses form a residential network that connects *bola* and *rumah besar* and organizes the inhabitants' social roles (Fig. 11 right).

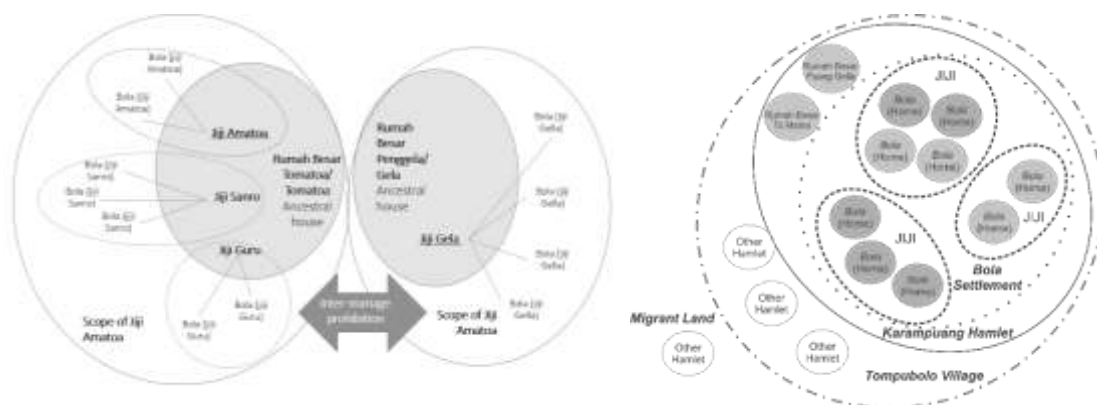


Fig. 11: *Jiji* kin-groupings principles (left) and network of *jiji* (right)
Source: P3MI-2018

There is a prohibition of marriage between the kin-members of *Rumah Besar To Matoa* and *Rumah Besar Puang Gella* (Fig.11 left). Marriage among the kin-members of *amatoa*, *guru*, and *sanro* is allowed, but not with *gella*. We conjecture that this may have something to do with the two associations' different affairs regarding their social-spiritual roles. While the *amatoa*, *sanro*, *guru*, and their fellow kinfolk's inhabitants take care of the spiritual, ethical,

and aesthetic affairs, *gella* and his kinfolk's inhabitants are responsible for worldly and day-to-day affairs. Therefore, *Rumah Besar To Matoa* and *Rumah Besar Puang Gella* represent an integration of binary heaven and earth, future and past, that essentialize the habitation (Fig. 12). Incidentally, inhabitants of the same *jiji* tended to be grouped in common spots within the neighborhood (Fig. 11 right). The Gella kinfolks' *bola*'s tend to concentrate more on the westward-facing East of the hamlet street, while the *bola* of the *amatoa* kinfolks, to the eastward facing the West.

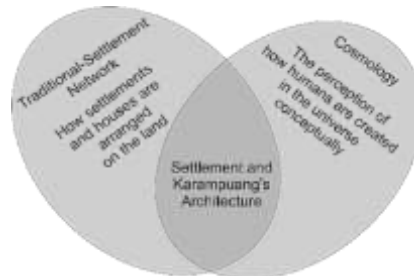


Fig. 12: Karampuang settlement and architecture as a contingent of cosmology and traditional settlement network

Source: P3MI-2018

Conclusion: The evolution of Karampuang vernacular architecture and the settlement

Our exploration presents an interpretation of a historical process that marks some of the *domus* transformations in the Karampuang hamlet. Before 1967, the *domus* of Karampuang had been the rectangle plan *lao pole* or *rumah besar*, which had been transformed over a long period from its original form, *lekeang*. Intensive agriculture might have brought the next phase of transformation *lao pole* architecture, known later as *rumah besar*. Questioning when this model appeared would be a matter of speculation. Should it be during the introduction of Islam as claimed in *Lontara Karampuang*, then it may happen in the 17th century. It could be earlier, too, as paddy culture was introduced far earlier. During this moment, architecture started to be built in pair of the ancestress house of *amatoa* (*Rumah Besar To Matoa*) and the ancestress house of *gella* (*Rumah Besar Peggella*). Transformation is comprehended as a long-time evolution, caused, at least, by 1) introduction of agriculture (ancient time), 2) intervention of Javanese Kingdom in the 13th century, and 3) the acceptance of Islam in the 17th. The need to consolidate natural sources indicates a higher degree of patriarchy which causes the subtle feminine embodiment into concrete feminine symbolization, particularly in the *rumah besar* model.

Before 1967, the domesticity of Karampuang is identified to appear like a rural hamlet that depended on natural forest setting and were engaged in traditional paddy farming. We are sure that this was the domesticity that had re-domesticated the earlier forest-based dwelling culture reflected semantically in many rituals, norms, and practices related to the forest. Internally, the agriculture domesticity was established by solidarity consolidated by the *jiji* kinship with matrilineal inheritance, cultivation of local rice species, maintenance on forest and water – *Ade' Eppa* worldview, and the narrative of origin as written in *Lontara Karampuang*. Externally, the interaction with cosmopolitan maritime dynamic and conflicting situations on the Bone Bay seaports not far from Karampuang allowed assimilation with foreign cultures, including the Javanese and Islamic culture. The idealization of domestic space was attained by: 1) recontextualizing the site of the ancient settlement on Lappa Hill or Gunung Area as the ritual ground, and relocating the *lao pole* to the present place and soon known as the two *rumah besar*; 2) the social order and value are articulated in a symbolic system reflected in the pairing of *rumah besar*, the binary orientation of present and future, sky and earth, as marked in the contrasting ridge orientation of *Rumah Besar To Matoa* and *Rumah Besar Peggella*; 3) the evolution of ancient *lekeang* to the *rumah besar* and 4) the *axis mundi* embedded in the central

pole (*possi' bola*) with granary on top of it. This *axis mundi* spiritually establishes the communal bonding among *bola* to the *rumah besar* and the ancestral ground on *Lappa Hill*.

Since the 20th century, Karampuang hamlet started to learn to live as part of the modern state administration of Indonesia. The modernization was characterized by exposure to the global world, market economy and commodification, increased patriarchy in the organization, and modern education and religious norms. Individualism, functionalism, and pragmatism turned into a lifestyle. These occurrences re-instituted the ecology and natural sources, administration, social life, and market economy and formed the ideas about home. Re-domestication is marked by a series of transformation milestones: the fire incidence of *rumah besar* in 1967, the construction of modern infrastructures in 1980, and the introduction of electricity in 2015. The *domus* acknowledges the new type of residential structure, *bola* or individual houses, and the formation of the *bola* neighborhood on the lower ground of the *rumah besar area*. *Bola* started to be built in the 1950s and became extensive in the 1980s when the roads started to be constructed. Individual life is seen from the increasing house orientation from the sun path to the modern road.

Today, domesticity still keeps the landscape of origin, narratives about the origin, the *Ade' Eppa* worldview, and living culture reflecting forest and paddy-based culture. Agriculture is sponsored by the government, particularly the cultivation of commercial crops and agriculture. They keep paddy for the community and *jiji* social organization with matrilineal inheritance, although increasing exogamous practices. They depend partly on the remittances to the relatives from the migrants doing modern jobs elsewhere. It explains the affinity to individual life. Domestic space is shaped by the functional and pragmatic motivations of living as individual domestic units in *bola*, consequently establishing the *bola* neighborhood. They keep the ritual traditions around *possi' bola* and other kinfolds, establishing a sphere at the central pole networks, by which the *rumah besar* is maintained. Virtually, the social cohesiveness among *bola* is bound by the ritual network of central poles and granaries. The prohibition of copying the *rumah besar* architectural style on the *bola* was issued to preserve the unifying characters and values of *rumah besar* as ancestral houses. Verandahs (*lego-lego*) in *bola* contain physical semantics that connects the *rumah besar* and the *bola*. That is the space where occasionally the *Ade' Eppa* visit the inhabitants. Three sectors make the spatial schemata of a habitable landscape of the settlement: *Lappa Hill* in *Gunung Area* as ritual place, *rumah besar area* as a cultural and communal sphere, and the *bola* neighborhood as the individual domestic domain.

In this respect, transformation is understood as establishing a new equilibrium of the communal, feminine, and organic body of the dwellings upon the well-consolidated modern patriarchal and administrative scheme. New indications of the transformations follow the proliferation of the *rumah batu* since the 1980s. Globalization might make the international system part of its domesticity through tourism, but it would take additional time to see if it would be a re-domestication process.

Reflections

There are many concepts about “transformations” for vernacular architecture. Some transformations are cases of re-domestication. Transformation in re-domestication framework is caused by fundamental changes of the performative aspects of the dwelling culture due to the techno-social-ecological environment, which consequently remakes idealization of domestic spaces, individually and collectively. It potentially leads to dislocation, displacement, radical transformations of the former *domus*, or the alterations of domestic space due to changes of relational characters between a dwelling space, its place, dwellers, meanings, and context.

Transformation in the re-domestication framework is a shift from one social-ecological-technological equilibrium of domesticity to another. *Lekeang*, *lao pole*, and *rumah*

besar-bola neighborhoods are the architectural and spatial outcomes of re-domestication: changing domesticity from horticulture to agriculture coupled with the introduction of Islam the situation of post-independence unrest coupled with the introduction of modern infrastructure. The changing of *domus* – *lekeang*, *lao pole* or *rumah besar*, and *bola*- are results of the recontextualizing symbolic system, social order, its spatiality, and tectonic ingenuity.

On the other hand, re-domestication may not always imply complete replacement or displacement of the old domestic space. Although living in *bola*, many Karampuangs keep the idea that *rumah besar* is the real home. Religious rituals in *rumah besar* sustain circum-spherical rites around *possi' bola* rites, which keeps the memory of the circular plan *lekeang* architecture in the present square plan *rumah besar*. The central pole of *lekeang* and *rumah besar* has turned into the semantic of *axis mundi* replicated in *bola* architecture. The spatial scheme of house and hamlet is a palimpsest of the traces of earlier domestic space. Some conditions of domesticity are carefully maintained, such as agriculture and forest-based living, the practice of matrilineal inheritance, and *jiji* kin groupings. The status of customary land helps them preserving the occupation, ecology, homeland, and rituals in the Gunung Area. This preserved domesticity is safeguarded by the semantics of feminine spirit, as ingrained in communal living habits under *Ade' Eppa* customary law, including the maintenance of female symbolization of *rumah besar*.

The preservation of domesticity is parallel to the discussion about ‘cultural medium’ in the concept of vernacularity (Widiastuti and Kurniati, 2019, Wang, 2016). Vernacularity is a conceptualization of a traditional cultural medium upon which local consciousness, value, and reflex grows and keeps undergoing dynamic processes through time from one achieved cultural equilibrium to the next. Here the concept of vernacularity is one attribute of “body” that *domus* pursues to frame. It explains the earlier reference of forms that are still decipherable on the new form, no matter how extreme the articulation of the design at the end.

It seems any construction traditions that come to the fore in a certain period result from participative works. Solidarity and communal living are the attributes of the “body” of the people. With the re-domestication framework, one cannot judge the hierarchical importance of *rumah besar* over *bola* architecture simply by assessing both architectures’ technical ingenuity and subtlety. Both architectures, altogether, are equilibrium results of the reality of communal process sustaining the challenge of the more modernized and individualized society. The main goal of the preservation of the *rumah besar*, the idealization of *Ade Eppa* preservation, and the emergence of *bola*-neighborhood are to nurture the communal cohesion, the cultural integrity of the Karampuang community- as well to make ways for passing the inherit assets and value to the next generations. The resulting progressive architectures do not automatically indicate the disruptions of the culture.

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